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**Chairman:** Miss Angie BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEMS 40 AND 41

**Preparation and training of indigenous civil and technical cadres in Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/4785, A/4851) (continued)**

**Racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/4768, A/4785, A/C.4/L.707) (continued)**

1. Mr. KUNST (Secretary of the Committee) said that, as operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/C.4/L.707 had financial implications, a document giving the particulars required under rule 154 of the rules of procedure would shortly be circulated to members of the Committee. / Meanwhile, he would mention that of the total additional expenditure of about \$8,000, some \$3,000 would be absorbed by a rearrangement of priorities in the Office of Public Information, leaving a net amount of \$5,000.
2. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) asked into what languages the resolution would be translated in addition to that of the administering Power concerned.
3. Mr. KUNST (Secretary of the Committee) replied that he would be in a position to supply full information later. If the Secretariat's interpretation was correct, the languages would be those used for the dissemination of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)).
4. Mr. MIGLIARESSIS (Greece) said that his delegation attached particular importance to the preparation and training of indigenous civil and technical cadres in Non-Self-Governing Territories. In its view, the need for the Administering Members to take effective measures to that end had become even greater in view of the rapid progress of the Territories towards independence. The lack of trained

cadres in countries which had just achieved independence delayed their political, economic and social development, as had been found in Greece when it had gained independence some 140 years previously. It was the duty of the Committee to recall by its resolutions that there was an obligation to provide such training, in order to enable the peoples concerned to dispense with foreign experts.

5. Racial discrimination was inconceivable where the Greek people, and indeed, all Mediterranean peoples, were concerned. His delegation would accordingly vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/L.707.

6. Mr. PEIRIS (Ceylon) said that his delegation was fully sensible of what might be described as the realism and good sense of those Administering Members who had co-operated with the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. His delegation had listened with intense interest and appreciation to the moving statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom at the 1210th meeting, but it found itself unable to avoid the feeling that the action taken by the United Kingdom in some of its Non-Self-Governing Territories had come none too soon. In that sense, the United Kingdom representative's statement, which ten years previously would have been regarded as demonstrating foresight and imagination, was now no more than realistic.

7. His delegation had been glad to learn that in Papua, where practice in the past had been suspiciously reminiscent of theories of so-called separate development, there had been some modification where the grant of the franchise was concerned. That was a welcome change, not because it went far enough but because it constituted a radical break with a practice which, carried to its logical conclusion, would have taken Papua rather in the direction of South Africa than in that of independence and self-determination. The provision of six elected members for the indigenous people in a legislature of thirty-seven was a leisurely measure of reform which could not be regarded as satisfactory at a time when the elimination of colonialism had become a matter of the utmost urgency for the United Nations. What his delegation wished to see in Papua was a legislature in which the people had a majority and an executive in which the people would increasingly predominate. Those administering Powers whose attitude to indigenous peoples was still influenced by the idea that the people were not ready for a greater measure of responsibility than they were willing to allow should never lose sight of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); what was important was not whether a people was capable of governing itself but whether anybody else was capable of doing so.

8. His delegation would not comment on the information supplied by the Netherlands Government of West Irian, because that subject did not fall under Chapter

/ Subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/L.708.

XI of the Charter. With regard to the Non-Self-Governing Territories administered by the United States, his delegation found itself at a loss to understand the implication of some of the information on voting rights reproduced in paragraphs 9 and 11 of document A/AC.35/L.334 and it would be glad if either the Secretariat or the representative of the United States would provide an explanation. In the case of American Samoa, the franchise described in paragraph 9 was progressive and acceptable, but it was also provided that all persons with the qualifications described who were at least 25 years of age and were either American nationals or American citizens were eligible to run for and to hold office in the House of Representatives of American Samoa. His delegation could not understand that provision or the provision in the Revised Organic Act of 1954 which vested the franchise in residents of the Virgin Islands who were, among other things, citizens of the United States. His delegation did not see the relevance of United States citizenship to either Samoa or the Virgin Islands and would therefore like the matter to be clarified.

9. In Africa, racial discrimination comprehended the whole complex of human relations and was intended by its protagonists as a way of life, a permanent ordering of human relations. Those obdurate men had made it into a doctrine which had adherents in many parts of the world; they were the spiritual heirs of Hitler, as were the cynical and shadowy forces in Western Europe which recruited and paid mercenaries for Katanga. The doctrine had its agents in the African continent—the "colons" in Algeria, the Whites in South, Central and East Africa and in the Portuguese territories. The power for evil of those men should not be underestimated; they had wealth, influence and great resources and had the support of criminal elements in European society. Above all, as a result of the vast industrial, mining and other interests they held, the systematic exploitation of the African peoples was too directly related to their prosperity for them to yield without a desperate struggle. It was against that background that his delegation would examine the efforts of the administering Powers to bring racial discrimination to an end in the continent where it had been traditional.

10. According to paragraph 176 of part two of the report of the Committee on Information (A/4785), the representative of the United Kingdom had informed that Committee that the essential task was not merely the eradication of particular forms of discrimination, but the building up of sensible working relations between people of various races. That statement implied that the building up of sensible working relations was a task that could be achieved independently of the task of eradicating particular forms of discrimination, whereas in his delegation's view the two tasks were essentially one. Moreover, such awakening to the need for sensible working relations between peoples of different races had come too late, historically, and had not the power it might otherwise have had to revolutionize human relations in those areas. The statement in question invited criticism by saying that a change in people's minds and attitudes must take time; the people concerned were undoubtedly the white racial minorities in the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Kenya, Uganda and elsewhere. Furthermore, such a statement was disingenuous, since the most important change to be taken into account was surely that which had occurred in the minds and attitudes of the African

people themselves and their unrest over accepting a way of life imposed on them by a racial minority. The whole approach denoted lack of a sense of urgency and reflected a faint touch of complacency; it betrayed a lack of moral commitment to the attack on racial discrimination. The "wind of change" was not a mere historical necessity to which opposing forces had to give way because it could not be withstood; it was a great resurgence of intolerably exploited peoples unwilling any longer to accept subjection, exploitation and abysmal inequality as their lot. His delegation wished to see the United Kingdom, with its heritage and its democratic traditions, positively on the side of the "wind of change"; that country could not order race relations in a harmonious way without coming out passionately in defence of human rights and enforcing with courage and conviction the rights of the inhabitants of the territories for which it was still responsible.

11. The report which the Secretariat had prepared on racial discrimination in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/AC.35/L.334) included in paragraph 36 a quotation from the report of the United Kingdom parliamentary delegation which had visited Kenya in 1957. In his opinion, the passage in question illustrated how deep racial discrimination went and how much passion, conviction and integrity people needed to overcome the racial prejudices of their social milieu. He felt repugnance at the fatuity and complacency of the phrase "These are progressive days in Kenya", the superciliousness concealed in the words "We ourselves met and had meals with Africans and Asians in the best hotels" and the smug assurance of "we believe the complete end of the colour bar will not be long delayed". His delegation was somewhat surprised to see such statements reproduced by the Secretariat in a United Nations document with what would appear to be approval of the point of view conveyed in it.

12. The United Kingdom parliamentary delegation was also reported to have expressed the belief that the complete end of the colour bar would not be long delayed particularly as education and qualified Africans, Arabs and Asians played an increasing part in the general life of the country, and to have added "The education programme has a major contribution to make in this respect". He would like to know whether that programme would make a difference to the colour bar by raising Africans, Asians and Arabs to the cultural and educational level of their masters or by raising the level of the latter to a point where their culture and education would enable them to perceive the narrowness and inhumanity of their racial prejudices. While he had great faith in the power of education to give people a breadth of outlook, imagination and a vision of the unity, dignity and equality of human life, he had no use for an education which was designed to raise Asians, Africans and Arabs to the level of those who adhered to racial prejudice in order to enable the latter to see that they were, in fact, in the company of equals.

13. Again, he was distressed by the intellectual and moral obtuseness noticeable in certain remarks included in paragraph 17 of the same report. The indigenous inhabitants of the African territories had an abysmally low level of living and were denied educational opportunities and opportunities for social and economic advancement and for political expression, whereas the Europeans enjoyed a high level of living deriving directly from the wretchedness of the in-

indigenous inhabitants. Yet the paragraph in question stated that the gap in living conditions was one of the causes of the difficulties in race relations. Moreover, that paragraph included the bland statement that "differentiation in the administrative system, as well as discrimination in social relations, sometimes continues to exist in cases where individual Africans have reached the cultural and educational standards of the Europeans".

14. Racial discrimination was and always had been an expression of racial exploitation. There could be no improvement until the back of that oppressive system was broken; nor could there be friendship between races except on the basis of equality and mutual respect. The colour bar imposed by the Europeans was not the problem with which the Committee was concerned. In the African territories the colour bar in itself could not create difficulties for the people discriminated against, for the simple reason that colour prejudices were held by a tiny minority who would be powerless to affect the lives of the people if they did not enjoy the backing and support of the machinery of the State. The colour bar was a political problem. Once an end was put to exploitation, human relations would be based on real equality.

15. The problem would not be solved by establishing race relations committees or conciliation councils or by enacting legislation against discrimination in public places since, if the price of admission was sufficiently high, the indigenous inhabitants would still be unable to avail themselves of the facilities, irrespective of what the law decreed. The answer lay in the speedy transfer of political power to the people. It should be realized that the colonial Powers were unlikely to have the will or conviction to attack racial discrimination in the territories under their administration in such a way as to deprive the European minorities of their disproportionate share of power, influence and wealth. Furthermore, a balanced and progressive social and economic order could be built only by a Government enjoying the support of the vast majority of the people. Lastly, the colonial States which had permitted and encouraged the dominant position of immigrant racial communities, or at best had offered but a weak and belated resistance to their greed and social arrogance, had forfeited the right to try at the present juncture to reverse the order by asking for multiracial societies based on equality. The continued presence of the colonial Powers in the Non-Self-Governing Territories would merely cause a further deterioration in racial relations, for the immigrant communities would clamour for the protection of their interests while the indigenous inhabitants would grow even more bitter. On the other hand, once the protecting presence of the colonial Power was removed, the immigrant communities would soon learn the virtue of co-operation. Their colour bar and their predominance in the political and economic life would disappear. Since they possessed skills and technological knowledge, they would still have a role to play and, provided there was no outside interference, they would find a place consistent with dignity and honour in an African society. Those who talked of the rights of minorities at the present juncture would do well to remember how, at one time, they had forgotten the rights of majorities. At any rate, they should bear in mind the fact that they were prejudicing the legitimate interests of minorities by trying to force solutions upon people

among whom those minorities would eventually have to live without the protection of any foreign Power.

16. Discrimination on grounds of caste, creed, class, race or colour had existed throughout history. Feelings of respect and sympathy for other people and other ways of life had, on the other hand, been slow to develop. The world had, however, reached a stage at which the final triumph of those feelings was directly connected with the survival of mankind. Peoples of different cultures and ways of life were for the first time in history in intimate contact on a world-wide scale. International peace was based on coexistence, mutual respect and mutual non-intervention; the alternative to coexistence was global conflict and destruction. That was the background against which his delegation viewed the situation in many Non-Self-Governing Territories where the ideas of human equality and dignity and peaceful coexistence were being daily violated. In the interdependent world of the present day, events in any one area had repercussions elsewhere. Racial exploitation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories made nonsense of the idea of equality among sovereign States. If disaster was to be avoided, men had to work for more harmony and equality.

17. Mr. KUNST (Secretary of the Committee) said that he would like to offer a clarification in connexion with the Ceylonese representative's statement. Referring to paragraph 36 of document A/AC.35/L.334, the Ceylonese representative had expressed surprise at the fact that the Secretariat had reproduced in a United Nations document a particular statement "with what would appear to be approval" of the point of view which it conveyed. Speaking of paragraph 17 of the same report, the Ceylonese representative had expressed distress at the "intellectual and moral obtuseness" noticeable in it. He wished to point out that the Secretariat's task was merely to reproduce information transmitted by the Administering Members in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter, so that United Nations bodies should have access to the facts which they needed for formulating observations. In so doing the Secretariat did not express either approval or disapproval of those facts.

18. Mr. PEIRIS (Ceylon) said that he had noted the remarks of the Secretary of the Committee.

19. Mr. GRINBERG (Bulgaria) observed that the question of racial discrimination was one of exceptional importance to the United Nations, since it related to one of the basic principles laid down by the Charter, that of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. As early as 1946, at its first session, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 103 (I), which declared that it was in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to racial persecution and discrimination. Ever since then the General Assembly had taken a particular interest in everything that pertained to racial discrimination, since no Member State could practise or even tolerate racial discrimination without failing to honour one of its main obligations as a Member of the United Nations. That was especially true with regard to the policies of the colonial Powers in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Under the terms of Article 73 of the Charter the Non-Self-Governing Territories were wards of the United Nations. Hence the practice of racial discrimination in a Non-Self-Governing Territory, or even its toleration by the

colonial Power concerned, was not merely a violation of the Charter but a mockery of everything for which the United Nations stood.

20. The General Assembly had adopted a number of resolutions calling for the abolition of racial discrimination in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the most recent of which was resolution 1536 (XV), adopted on 15 December 1960. He emphasized that the word "immediately" in operative paragraph 2 and the words "immediate effect" in operative paragraph 3 had been adopted by overwhelming majorities, against the vehement opposition of the colonial Powers. At a time when the General Assembly had just adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, it could not have done other than ask for the immediate abolition of racial discrimination also. The ninth preambular paragraph of the Declaration itself stated that in order to avoid serious crises an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith.

21. The report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories showed clearly that the colonial Powers had failed to give effect to General Assembly resolution 1536 (XV). While some progress had been made in certain areas, the general impression remained that in the period under review no drastic steps had been taken to implement the resolution and that in varying degrees racial discrimination persisted in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. A striking example of disregard for that resolution was the statement made by the Australian representative, reproduced in paragraph 172 of the report on social advancement in Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/4785, part two), to the effect that the legislation of Papua was being reviewed progressively with a view to the repeal, so far as it was practicable and desirable to do so, of provisions relating to segregation or discrimination on racial grounds. That was tantamount to a declaration that the Australian Government intended to continue its policy of racial discrimination in Papua. Such statements must be strongly condemned.

22. Other colonial Powers had not expressed their opposition to General Assembly resolution 1536 (XV) so bluntly; indeed, some of them, such as the United Kingdom, had made declarations designed to create the impression that their policy was to secure fundamental rights and freedoms in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Nevertheless, paragraph 170 of the same report recorded that the representatives of Ghana, India, Iraq and Liberia had pointed out that, contrary to the assertion made in the statement transmitted by the United Kingdom Government, in many United Kingdom Territories the right of suffrage was denied to indigenous inhabitants. The statement of the four non-administering members of the Committee on Information was substantiated by an article in the Observer of 2 July 1961, relating to constitutional developments in Northern Rhodesia, which said that in accordance with the recent recommendations of the Governor, which had been endorsed by the United Kingdom Government, the number of Africans on the upper roll would be only 3,500 out of a total indigenous population of 2,600,000. The article showed that under the new electoral system candidates were elected on a percentage basis calculated independently for the two rolls, with the result that a winning candidate might have in fact obtained fewer

votes than his unsuccessful opponent. The Observer correspondent had concluded by saying that the Africans saw the Constitution as a nightmare product of white supremacy.

23. In Southern Rhodesia a referendum had recently been held on the vital issue of new constitutional proposals involving the removal of United Kingdom control, thus leaving the indigenous population at the mercy of the white settlers. The Africans had been virtually excluded from participation and the constitutional proposals had been adopted by 42,000 votes in favour of 22,000 against. In an unofficial referendum among the indigenous population 467,000 had voted against the proposals and only 584 in their favour.

24. The report of the Committee on Information contained a number of paragraphs dealing with racial discrimination in different fields and in different colonies. The Committee had, however, been handicapped by lack of adequate information.

25. To illustrate the situation in Rhodesia, he quoted extracts from a book by Thomas M. Franck entitled Race and Nationalism,<sup>2/</sup> which described the discriminatory laws and practices in force in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, including the pass laws and other restrictions, the great discrepancy in the pay of indigenous and European workers and the unjust head tax or hut tax, which constituted a major source of revenue to the Territorial Governments.

26. At the 1210th meeting of the Committee the United Kingdom representative had uttered a passionate condemnation of racial discrimination. There again, however, a general and lofty declaration of good intentions must be contrasted with the harsh reality. The United Kingdom representative had spoken of recent progress in some Non-Self-Governing Territories in the matter of racial discrimination, but he had failed to tell the Committee whether the Africans had yet achieved their aim of "one man one vote". The representative of Ceylon had dealt most ably with the question of the colour bar and its importance to indigenous populations. Indigenous inhabitants were no longer interested in obtaining access to swimming pools, restaurants and hotels; they wanted the vote.

27. His delegation held that racial discrimination in the colonies could be completely and rapidly eradicated only by the abolition of colonialism, since the system of colonial administration was in itself a form of racial discrimination. Only after the achievement of independence would the peoples possess the means to eradicate all discrimination and to remove all the after-effects of that evil practice; only then could the colour bar really be abolished. That was why the efforts of the United Nations must be concentrated on the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. In the meantime the General Assembly should continue to insist that the Administering Members, who were still responsible for the situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, should take steps for the eradication of racial discrimination. Such steps would contribute to the implementation of the Declaration, particularly in such colonies as the two Rhodesias.

<sup>2/</sup> New York, Fordham University Press, 1960.

28. His delegation was happy to be a co-sponsor of the draft resolution on racial discrimination (A/C.4/L.707). He hoped that further delegations would become sponsors of the draft resolution or at least give it their support.

29. Mr. DIALLO (Mali) announced that the delegations of Somalia and Mauritania had expressed the desire to join in sponsoring the draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.